28: Tessman--361 [7] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 836

There are unrestrained sexual relations prior to marriage.

1: Karsten--216 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 836, 582 (1928-29)

"Among the Jibaros premature sexual intercourse is prohibited to a youth until he has passed through the initiation for manhood and become what is called a tsémbrama. If a boy has intercourse with a woman before that time, it is believed, he will soon die. Generally a Jibaro youth marries when he [sic] 18 to 20 years old."

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

842 [789] place after a long period of time, may resort to an anti-sterility remedy, which consists of the pulverized leg bone of a fox, which is mixed with manioc beer and drunk. Both men and women say that the preferred first child is a boy, which is justified on the basis that the father needs, and would enjoy having, a son to go hunting with him. Ideally, the birth of a son should be followed by that of a daughter. There is no clear-cut prejudice against offspring of one sex as against the other.

843 [824] The Jívaro are aware of the relationship between insemination and pregnancy, and predict that a fully mature woman can give birth to a baby when the *naitka* tree (botanical identification unknown) has flowered three times after her marriage. The *naitka* flowers twice a year, so their estimate is a year and a half. If the bride is just barely past puberty, they estimate that a longer period, five *naitka*, or two and a half years, is required.

[836] [848] Since premarital sexual relations are common, the birth of a child in a shorter period after marriage is not a cause for surprise. After the birth of the first baby, a three *naitka* minimum is estimated for the next.

[823] It is recognized that pregnant women have strange food cravings and may practice geophagy, something never done by anyone else in the society. They may eat, in small amounts, unfired pottery clay or the brown earth from tubular, above-ground anthills. When birth is expected within five days or so, the woman's diet is restricted to exclude the meat of certain wild birds.

844 Preparation for the birth primarily consists of placing two stout forked sticks, supporting a crossbar about two and a half feet above the ground, in the expectant mother's garden. At the time of birth, a clean banana leaf is placed under the

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

When you are living well, thus, with all your *sai* and *yači*, if someone comes and kills your *sai*, you have to avenge him. First of all, you have to bathe in the sacred waterfall, see *arutam*, and then you can kill. If you have not encountered *arutam*, you must not go kill, because you will die. When they kill someone in your family first, then you have to go and kill one of them. You can win by explaining that they killed first and that you are simply avenging his death. In this way, you can win. Also send the message, "If you kill me, my family will kill you." Then they also will say, "Yes, it is true. We cannot continue living and fighting. Let us calm down a bit. Since we are the same people, let us live peacefully. I want to stay in my house. I want to eat well." When they speak thusly, the feuding will end.

Learn to work. Let us work together. Since we have lots of beer, let us work together. Then when I die, you will know how to work. When we kill a pig, let us eat well, because when we die, it is all finished. So let us work well and eat well while we live. When we work, we work until midafternoon. When you are young, you want to work all day. But I tell you, "Enough, enough. It is very late. We have to return to the house and you have to bathe. Then let us eat well."

When I die, how is it going to be with you? Sometimes when another man drinks beer, he gets angry. But this is bad. You must not do this. When you are drinking, take a nap and then you can get up and drink some more. Dance. Never speak harshly, because some men thus start fighting with their *yači*. Don't do this or otherwise when you travel elsewhere the people will know and speak to one another about it. So don't do this, because then this will be a great shame.

Visiting and Parties

Young single men spend a great deal of a time visiting other households where unmarried female cross-cousins

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

(*wahe*) live. Often such visits last two or three weeks, during which the young man will secretly rendezvous frequently with the girl in the garden or adjacent forest to engage in sexual relations. Her parents usually do not pay much attention to the affair as long as it is never mentioned or observed, although a few fathers are exceptional and may beat a daughter who is suspected of such activities simply because the young man is hanging around. Normally, if the girl becomes pregnant, her parents tell her to bring her lover to their house to live as her husband. Then, the next time she sees him, she invites him to become her husband. She may point out that if he refuses, her father will undoubtedly beat her. It is virtually unknown for the lover, if he is single, to refuse to come live with her, in view of the scarcity of unmarried women.

While young single men are the chief philanderers, young married men also commonly have a penchant for such activities. Under the guise of going hunting, they may visit the houses of other men who are also away hunting and arrange to rendezvous regularly with a wife of the absent husband in the forest near the garden. This kind of activity is so common that husbands sometimes build a special kind of *tampunči* "adulterer trap" near the garden of the suspected wife, which is so designed that a bent sapling will strike the unwanted visitor in the stomach or groin. However, this type of *tampunči*, unlike that used against mortal enemies, does not have body-penetrating bamboo spikes.

Married women reportedly respond often with less enthusiasm when approached by a would-be lover who is also married, "because they do not want to share him with other women." Thus, when a young man is visiting a distant neighborhood where he is relatively unknown, and a woman asks him if he is married, he commonly responds negatively.

When a man has a number of wives, his difficulty in pre-

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

684 chete. Ordinarily, the aggrieved party administers the punishment personally while several relatives hold the victim. The slashing is usually done without much care, and sometimes the offender dies, although this result is not intended. In the [836] case of premarital sexual intercourse, the punishment is administered to the girl and her lover by the girl's father. In the [837] case of adultery, a man primarily punishes his wife's lover, and a woman primarily punishes her husband.

684 836 Premarital intercourse is a less serious offense than extramarital. Premarital sexual relations are widespread, and single girls frequently become pregnant. Such affairs usually are looked upon fairly tolerantly by everyone, even by a girl's mother, as long as the girl's father does not discover them in the act. If such a discovery occurs, the father has to punish them in order to avoid becoming the butt of jokes in the neighborhood. The father is expected to slash the scalps of both under such circumstances.

684 837 When a man learns that another has had sexual relations with his wife, he has the right to cut her lover's scalp whether he discovered him in the act or not. Unlike the [593] punishment for murder, this cutting is usually administered [602] immediately by the aggrieved party, accompanied by several [605] of his kinsmen, normally brothers, parallel or cross-cousins, or his father. If the adulterer flees to a distant neighborhood or otherwise prevents them from punishing him, then the aggrieved party may, in his anger, kill the father of the adulterer, or, if he is not living, a brother or cousin (parallel or cross).

Even if the punishers are successful in their slashing of the offender's forehead or scalp, they and their close relatives usually remain angry with the family of the offender and refuse to speak to them. After about two years, the offender is [301] [435] also expected to pay the husband a toucan feather headband

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

an accomplished warrior and, through the feasting, by being a generous host to as many neighbors as possible. One informant observed, "The desire of the Jívaro for heads is like the desire of the whites for gold."

Since the head-taking raids are directed at the Achuara and others "who live far away," the victim whose head is the focal point of the celebration normally is viewed by everyone in the head-taker's neighborhood as an "enemy." Accordingly, it is the unique occasion for the members of many Jívaro households to get together to reaffirm their common identity and unity. Under such circumstances, it is not surprising that the *tsantsa* feast is participated in with great joy and a cumulative sense of euphoria. Of course, the huge quantities of strong manioc beer help, as do the ritual circle dances (*tsainchi*), which continue from dusk to dawn night after night. The bountiful quantities of meat and garden foods add to the sense of well-being. It is also a time of relative sexual license, as I had occasion to observe during the one *tsantsa* feast that I attended. Liaisons are arranged discreetly by both unmarried and married individuals, who rendezvous in the forest surrounding the house.

The supernatural and ritual aspects of the celebration contribute to the sense of solidarity by inhibiting fights between men who have become drunk and who may try to even a score with old enemies or with men who have offended them at the feast by flirting with their wives. That is, it is believed that the avenging soul (*muisak*) of the murdered man will be able to take advantage of any disruption of the binding ritual by escaping from the *tsantsa* to cause an ongoing fight to culminate in a death. Permitting the *muisak* to escape from the *tsantsa* would also be an affront to the host, since it would negate the major supernatural purpose of the feast, that is, to utilize the power of the *muisak*, while it is resident in the